



Missouri University of Science and Technology
Scholars' Mine

English and Technical Communication Faculty
Research & Creative Works

English and Technical Communication

01 Jan 2002

Marvell's Watery Maze: Digression and Discovery at Nun Appleton

Anne Cotterill

Missouri University of Science and Technology, cotteril@mst.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsmine.mst.edu/eng_teccom_facwork

 Part of the [English Language and Literature Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cotterill, Anne. "Marvell's Watery Maze: Digression and Discovery at Nun Appleton." *ELH: English Literary History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, pp.103-132.

The definitive version is available at <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2002.0002>

This Article - Journal is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars' Mine. It has been accepted for inclusion in English and Technical Communication Faculty Research & Creative Works by an authorized administrator of Scholars' Mine. This work is protected by U. S. Copyright Law. Unauthorized use including reproduction for redistribution requires the permission of the copyright holder. For more information, please contact scholarsmine@mst.edu.

MARVELL'S WATERY MAZE: DIGRESSION AND DISCOVERY AT NUN APPLETON

BY ANNE COTTERILL

The narrative structure of *Upon Appleton House* has long invited and as long resisted explanation. The poem opens with promise of sobriety, its tetrameter couplets display the epigrammatic concision we associate with Marvell, and its sculpted stanzas seem balanced and self-contained. Yet the bounds and walls and close-fitting spaces of the house at Nun Appleton fail to hold the narrator as he wanders beyond their confines, over meadow and wood, through fantasy and apostrophe, into ventriloquized moods and prophetic strains. The lyric miniaturist promises control, yet his poem slips from the containment of an English country house into a dark landscape which seems at once portraiture of the estate, of the spirit, and of the deepest recesses of the self.

Rosalie Colie's masterly reading began by admitting what appeared to her the unresolvable problem of form, the frank and willful irregularity of *Upon Appleton House*. Later scholarship struggled unevenly with the poem's pressure toward dispersal and multiplicity, its seeming disregard for, even subversion of, the usual signs of formal coherence, while recent critical work has reflected increased theoretical sophistication and ease with narrative disjunction and fragmentation.¹ John Rogers, Barbara Estrin, and Lynn Enterline have reopened the poem and reimagined its structure with fresh readings of historical and psychoanalytic complexity.² One scholar has uncovered a late sixteenth-century map of Nun Appleton crossed by the river's serpentine line and finds that Marvell's poem provides "an entirely plausible account of a sinuous yet circular walk through the Fairfax estate."³

Upon Appleton House is indeed exact and detailed in its allusions to Fairfacian property and history; yet the celebration of the house is darkened, not only by the civil turmoil from which the General has withdrawn, but by the absence of exactly those compliments to patrons traditional in country house poems—the display of abundant blessings, gifts, and tributes. At Nun Appleton no cheerful brows

glow in firelight, no groaning board suggests feasting, no stewards or tenants populate the scene. Instead bloody Thestylis serves up a baby rail, and abundance figures in the number and density of the estate's orphaned creatures and sinister domains of garden, meadow, and flood.

The narrator's progress through the poem not only swerves from the anticipated path of country-house discourse; it strays in ways synonymous with transgression and moral deviation. A generic deviant, the poem raises the specter of disorder and deviance at many levels: personal, familial, national, sexual, spiritual. As a subordinate yet intrusive presence among his employers, the tutor pulls at various threads of their story but appears to have no history himself. He is of neither a Fairfax nor a military line, neither child nor parent, not a tree or a bird, despite his wishful woodland masque—perhaps neither male nor female but an amphibian of doubtful nature. And through his peculiar "survey" and his movements "betwixt", we encounter a series of silent, sacrificial victims.⁴ The grounds surveyed become depths to be plumbed; and a mariner's line (381–82) sounds an underworld of digression, drowning, and the translation of youth.

Beginning with the digression into the nunnery, *Upon Appleton House* celebrates yet oddly highlights the skirmish of parents, suitors, and rivals around the youthful Isabel and Maria. We are not allowed to forget, by contrast, Maria's "studious hours," her languages, and her wisdom cultivated in the halcyon days before her translation into a bride; nor can we forget how Isabel was tempted generations earlier into spiritual retreat. And behind the impulse to retreat from or postpone the demands of heterosexual reproduction hovers the child's tutor, the narrator whose intellectual fertility Lord Fairfax employs to extend the family fame in lines of verse. Some of the poem's alarm which collects around children may be anger and sadness that belongs to the tutor, a progenitor whose personal lines do not go forward but inward and back to the past. He mocks his erotic play and sterility on "velvet moss" (594) in the woods, and his sensual sanctuary pointedly recalls the lesbian cloister. Yet the caricature and tortured self-mockery also distract attention from the poem's ambiguous interest in arrested adolescence, in virginity, and in alternative modes of reproduction, such as poetry.

Marvell's speaker moves cautiously between two female heirs who preside over the Fairfax property and whose destinies of marriage and pedigree have become as fixed as those boiled fruits of the cloister. In suspension between past and future, between the cloister's blooming flower and Nun Appleton's "sacred bud" (742), the poem's

depths and disjunctures not only reveal the plan of an estate and a family's history, but they trace the lines of Marvell's powerful moves into the tutor's, and not Lord Fairfax's, longing and loss.⁵ In the irregularities of the estate's divisions, the speaker attempts to map himself in the story of the Fairfax family, one whose fragments, persons, and episodes have driven him to sound the very bottom of the self:

To see man through this meadow dive,
 We wonder how they rise alive,
 As, under water, none does know
 Whether he fall through it or go
 But, as the mariners that sound,
 And show upon their lead the ground,
 They bring up flowers so to be seen,
 And prove they've at the bottom been.
(377–84)

The scene is the meadows before the flood, yet already we are at sea. At the center of this great poem the speaker dives within where the rhetorical flowers of poetry now testify to human depth.

Drowning as an image for chaotic dissolution, whether of the self or the state, haunts other poems by Marvell, such as "The Unfortunate Lover" and "The First Anniversary of the Government Under His Highness the Lord Protector, 1655." In *Upon Appleton House*, under the pressure and temptation of the threat of dissolution, the tutor moves between the confines of the house and the danger of an emotional flood. Unravelling a thread which begins in the nunnery with Isabel, the narrator meanders on the estate and simultaneously dives through history, memory, and the psyche—almost drowning yet always finding ground to dive further within. This maelstrom, like the close-lacing circles of the woodbines, draws more tightly the loops of the narrator's progress until he ends in a tunnel, a thread of light, which leads between two stocks of the wood. The narrator's ground disappears in the flood, but he appears to find a footing in the "passable" wood (506). The ground narrows, however, to a last thread of a lane (621) onto which he asks to be staked—the sacrifice, or monster, at the center of the labyrinth. He has reached his antipodes, touched bottom. Then on the hook of a "But" ("But where the floods did lately drown, / There at the evening stake me down" [623–24]) the speaker becomes his own angler and catches himself. The antipodes have turned. The thread of light becomes a line by which he rises to the surface and lands, for this tutor's imagination needs to be staked down finally like a storm-tossed boat.

Into a flood of sensation and memory he had descended like a plummet and almost drowned. Now those depths are contained behind the snakey mirror of the river.⁶ The slick and blinding glitter, like the dazzling surface of Marvell's poetry, closes over and seals what has happened below. The poem opens up dizzying depths yet returns us to land. "Things greater" are "in less contained" by Marvell's line.

The speaker's leisurely survey, while a linear progress that maps one Yorkshire estate, becomes also a series of dives into another landscape, a psychological interior which includes the Yorkshire of Marvell's childhood. Apocalyptic images of flood and ark in *Upon Appleton House*, when read together with the storm-tossed, wandering ships elsewhere in his work, suggest the poet's exploration in the early 1650s of not only the nation's but also of his own fantasy, which he protectively satirizes in the mock-heroic of William Fairfax: the desire to be rescued from exterior but also interior chaos by a bold, manly arm. Such a force appears in the "lusty mate" (273) who with clear eye and calm mind wrests the helm from his addled steersman and saves the drowning ship of state in "The First Anniversary" (265–78). These two poems of the 1650s, written to Marvell's commanding patrons, feature threatened fathers and shadowy accusing sons, the danger of falling trees and drowning seas. Marvell's great celebration of Cromwell nearly drowns, awash with the floods in the poet's head. And Marvell's "lusty mate" at the helm stands in sharp contrast to all of the poet's painfully landlocked and self-enclosed gardeners, mowers, and complaining nymphs who retreat from loss and hopeless desire. The mate points back to Marvell's youth in the port and military fortress of Hull—origins recalled and mocked years later by Samuel Parker in *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed* (1673). Parker deplores Marvell's low language, which he attributes to "your first unhappy Education Among Boat-Swains and Cabin-Boys"; and he attacks the poet's impertinence to instruct royalty: "and as if you were the Skipper of the State talk to them of nothing but Sea-marks, and Buoys, and Rocks, and Sands, and Charts, and Compasses, etc."⁷ The world of the sea would seem to have no place at Nun Appleton, but surely it does.

Before we enter those meadows and woods, I will show that by 1655 Marvell can allow the celebration of his new patron, Oliver Cromwell, to digress into vivid, even melodramatic images of drowning and grief, of loss and a vacuum of authority, because those fears will be answered and contained by the apocalyptic figure of a strong

leader who is Cromwell, the angelic and “lusty” steersman. By contrast, the earlier poem to Lord Fairfax demands that the lone “I” save himself and contain the floodwaters, because no strong leader exists; yet his charge of blooming youth, whether his own or that of “the young Maria,” will be sacrificed. Paradox, nostalgia, and self-mockery must do the work of government in *Upon Appleton House*; abruptly the waters withdraw and shrink beneath the dazzling surface of a river whose serpentine line through the estate looks like the poetic progress from which we emerge. The virtuosic, labyrinthine structure and variety enfold criticism as well as compliment. The poem’s brilliance, if a celebration, is also a foil for impoverishment.

LOST SHIP IN LIMBO

Thomas Fairfax, who almost single-handedly created the New Model army, first joined his cavalry with that of Cromwell in 1643 in Hull, the city of Marvell’s youth. Cromwell was then an inexperienced colonel, although older than Fairfax. Following in the footsteps of his military father, Sir Thomas had trained in the Netherlands with Horace Vere, the father of the future Lady Fairfax, and by 1642 had led a company of dragoons in the king’s Scottish campaign. Worshipped by his soldiers, the young Fairfax was described by one military historian as “the only Parliamentary commander who was Rupert’s equal in dash and drive.”⁸ But where “An Horatian Ode” tells us that Cromwell left his gardens and domestic comforts to answer history’s call to duty as “the Wars’ and Fortune’s Son,” *Upon Appleton House* ponders Fairfax’s decision in 1650 to reverse Cromwell’s direction—to leave history and the millennium for retired self-scrutiny and domestic economy. The poem appropriately begins “Within” (1); but the Fairfax household, with its head drawn into a shell, appears bowed to the active masculine force which the terseness of “An Horatian Ode” observes as Cromwell’s signature.

Marvell’s longest panegyric to Cromwell, “On the First Anniversary,” opens unusually for a celebration—with a drowning:

Like the vain curlings of the watery maze,
Which in smooth streams a sinking weight does raise,
So Man, declining always, disappears
In the weak circles of increasing years;
And his short tumults of themselves compose,
While flowing Time above his head does close.
(1–6)

The poem later veers into an extended digression on the coaching accident which in 1655 had endangered Cromwell's life. The tension between gravity's pull to end time, characterized as "a sinking weight" of "Man, declining always," and life's stubborn impulse to escape from necessity, characterized by a digression which steals and opens up time, lies behind Marvell's image later of history as a ship unable to land ("Hence landing nature to new seas is tossed" [157]). This image appears as well in "A Dialogue Between the Soul and Body," where the Soul laments itself as a ship wandering in a forced exile of life ("And ready off the port to gain, / Am shipwreck'd into health again" [29–30]). From the image of history as a storm-tossed ship, "The First Anniversary" returns to the initial specter of drowning in the speaker's relation of the coaching accident.⁹

As Royalist pamphlets thrilled to exclaim, the charioteer of state who would manage three kingdoms could not control his own horses. The "Angelic" (126) Lord Protector could not protect himself, and the poem's hysterical praise wraps itself around, and overcompensates for, accusations of his frailty. Within the digression, storms twice rock the wandering ship of history in passages which emphasize drowning as the inevitable and welcome end to physical chaos. First, at 211–14, shipwreck is a horrible personal assault—we hear the shrieks of passengers to "deaf seas and ruthless tempests" and watch the "plundering streams" of ocean ripping apart shipboards. The second reference is the epic simile of the lusty mate who "with more careful eye" spies the stars, rights the steering, and saves his chaotic vessel and exhausted passengers from the ocean floor (265–78). Marvell consistently characterizes Cromwell's vigor and power as superhuman, whether the image be "three-forked lightening" (13) in "An Horatian Ode," or the "Sun-like" angel at the opening of "The First Anniversary" (8). Now this strong masculine figure focuses and calms the disorganizing power of natural turbulence reflected in "whirling," "giddy" minds. Specifically, a drowning man's pull must be countered by an intensely upward, angelic force such as Cromwell's—and not only in "The First Anniversary," but deep in Nun Appleton. "Give me but wings," exclaims the narrator in the woods (565). If the Lord Protector temporarily drops out of sight like the sun, he will rise smiling; and not only does he not drown, but he commands the ocean with monstrous ships which frighten wave and wind. The nightmare of storm-tossed seas which threatens this poem is magically tamed and harnessed by Cromwell to intimidate England's neighbors and enemies: hurricanes are his cannon, and thunder their shot.¹⁰

The digressive interlude of about 60 lines in which the Lord Protector falls, dies, and rises is the distended opposite of “thy sudden fall” (175), and the digression exerts a power of delay and suspended, repeated scrutiny diametrically opposed to Cromwell’s own contractive force. The image of Cromwell as Noah is particularly confusing: Marvell raises the specter of Noah’s drunkenness, and so of Ham’s gaze, in order to clear Cromwell of the charge of personal ambition. He “only didst for others plant the vine / Of liberty, not drunken with its wine” himself (287–88). But the poet does not drop the story of Noah; he proclaims the impossibility of “sober liberty” (289) for the disruptive sects, a raging “Chammish issue” (293) who “such as to their parents’ tents do press, / May show their own, not see his nakedness” (291–92). Marvell’s insistence on the self-exposure of the voyeur who presses to the parent’s tent reflects on his poem’s speaker; but the self-exposure of voyeurism also recalls the furtive narrator of *Upon Appleton House*, who gazes on a distinguished although hardly drunken father in retirement and invokes the “first carpenter” and godly steersman in the woods (485) before turning our gaze on himself.

The anniversary tribute, like the poem to Fairfax, blends panegyric with digressive, ambiguous passages not easily accounted for within the aims of celebration. Finally Cromwell becomes “the Angel of our commonweal” (401) troubling the waters to make them heal; but surely it is the poet who is troubling these waters to make them heal, and they are as much personal as political deeps. Cromwell and Fairfax trigger private floods and digressions in the poet who is both Ham and Shem. Marvell curiously distends his poems to cover up and to expose not only these godly parents but also himself in a pattern-like reverberation of ever-widening, but not weakening, circles around “a sinking weight,” a drowning man.

The numerical center of “The First Anniversary” is a halting, startling line within the passage on the accident: “Thou, Cromwell, falling, not a stupid tree” (201). And while the next line completes the meaning, the initial dumb power of a falling tree deep in the middle of remembrance and celebration threatens like a perpetually sinking weight in a stream. For “falling” attracts to itself and focuses all of the references to “fall” which collect in the first half of the digression (163, 175, 190, 201, 206) before the joyous sunrise of Cromwell “triumphant” (215). In that imagined moment of helplessness as the Lord Protector loses power to protect, the poet takes control—he seizes the force Cromwell loses, and he gains time and space to fill. In

response to the hopeless “curlings” of one “watery maze” (1), he creates a maze of his own. The threatened loss of a protector, a vacuum of authority to be filled by the rushing waters of chaos, propels this poet to wind imaginatively around the vacuum in order to camouflage yet point to a specter of vacancy—and perhaps not only in 1655. On 23 January 1641, Marvell, aged nineteen, while hardly a child, was left an “orphan of the hurricane” (“The Unfortunate Lover,” 32) when his father, the Reverend Andrew Marvell, drowned in the Humber in a storm—the barrow-boat “sand-warp’t,” a drunken steersman suspected.¹¹ That year the poet left Cambridge without a degree and afterwards traveled on the continent, most likely as a child’s tutor. The itinerant tutor of *Upon Appleton House* appears to have landed; yet he circles around anger, eros, and loss in a peculiar vortex, one which draws him down like a lost ship in limbo.

ADRIFT “WITHIN” CHILDHOOD

Marvell imagines Appleton House with an open door, but the door stands open as if to ease his exit. The poor hover outside, but they never enter; and “furniture of friends” (68) reduces guests to the wooden tropes of a genre that has become rigid like life at Nun Appleton, except for the tutor’s discreet excursions. Who would find enticing such words of invitation as “sober,” “hew,” “work,” and “pain,” or enjoy the tension between “contained” and “constrained” (43–44)? Forced to choose between “spread” or “dead” (17, 18), the narrator wanders for almost a hundred stanzas. And he unravels a thread which leads from the first child and virgin of the poem, its delectable Isabel Thwaites, to the labyrinth in the wood. In the Presbyterian house, disconcerted sweating walls dilate to fit the master, and sexual coupling presses against the coffin’s sobriety; but the cloister and the poem relax their contours around Isabel.¹² Through a digression which follows the Yorkshire Proserpina into the “gloomy” (89) underworld of the convent, *Upon Appleton House* opens to hectic light and fragrance, a flush of warmth and embracing arms. The sensuous cloister opens its gates to Isabel while it closes them against the world, and it opens the poet’s psyche in a way that makes possible the whole poem.¹³

The poem’s first words, “Within this sober frame,” and those of the nun’s subtle speech, “Within this holy leisure” (97), are interesting twins: and in stanza 13 we begin the poem again but on a deeper note. After the initial stanzas of stooping, bending, and bowing,

which emphasize that here the poet will “not remain” (72), it is the nun’s delicious voice of seduction which sucks us in. The soft luxury and inviting pleasure of the word “leisure” sets off a rapid chain reaction of verbs barring trespass but also exit, which echo later in the wood—“restrain” (99), “hedge” (100), “inclose” (101), and “shuts” (103)—until the stanza “locks” its “gates” and harsher “grates” (104).

Isabel is the first flower of youth in the poem, and Marvell emphasizes the miracle and delight of her bloom by locating it near, and in contrast to, the “gloomy” cloister. Yet compared to the sobriety of the House, the Roman Catholic gloom seems to cast a softer shadow. Once guaranteed privacy, the nunnery feeds the senses with oriental perfumes, lamplight, and with appreciation for beauty, ornament, and those “pastes” for “curious tastes” (181–82). While feasting is not a prominent feature of life at the Fairfaxes, the nuns seem to enjoy their food: what is more, the Cistercian sisters are handling, touching, and embracing; they love sweets, warmth, and beauty. And after the tense control and hints of the grave represented by a house that competes with beasts’ dens to fit the body exactly, Isabel appears like a welcome flush of life. Her fairness is not of dwarfish or measured confines but “beyond measure” (91), true to nature’s artless abundance. The hungry nun excited to inspiration by such wealth and loveliness translates Isabel as she speaks: in fairy-tale chemistry she transforms that beauty under summer suns, boils it into a perverse glowing “order” (169) to disguise the fact that she wants to eat the girl like a candy.

Along with other sacrificed young in the poem (the baby rail, the heron’s “eldest” [534]), Isabel reminds us of Marvell’s keen and repeated interest in the breathless poise of a childhood soon to be extinguished. The poet’s characteristic tension between precision and nostalgia holds in relation not only child with adult, but also victim with savior, childlike repose with the sexual bed and sacrificial altar. For example, Isabel is swept from one enchanted and ambiguous altar to another (“that blest bed” [281]), and Mary Fairfax is prepared for the sacrificial knife of matrimony. In a memorable moment of the “Horatian Ode,” Charles I pillows his royal head childlike on a public bed that suggests not only personal but sexual humiliation before bloody hands.¹⁴ Marvell’s Restoration satire, “The Last Instructions to a Painter,” suddenly modulates from furious disgust to hushed reverence for the magic of pubescent Archibald Douglas—his chaste denial of heterosexuality and his embrace of a fiery self-consummation and dissolution in a sacrificial but erotic bed.

Violence mixed with eroticism in Marvell's work ruptures the delicately poised moment between the bud of childhood and the flower of maturity, but it lurks disturbingly within such female children as little T. C., whose strong will to tame alarms her adult observer and belies the "simplicity" of "golden days" ("The Picture of Little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers," 1, 2). Mary Fairfax, too, disciplines her surroundings, but the breathless attention she commands reflects her own arrested moment of safety in the study of languages, her brief, timeless poise suspended from the demands of sexuality and family. Critics have long noted Marvell's ambivalence about the aggression of sexuality and the violence he associates with the self-assertion of birth—aggression and violence which the poet often displaces onto females and nature.¹⁵ John Rogers, for example, situates Marvell's "unique poetics of passive agency" and vegetable sexuality in relation to pacific, millenarian discourses of the period.¹⁶ Yet while he illuminates Marvell's vision of the virgin Mary, he hints at but does not pursue connections among the feminine Roman Catholic enclave, the nuns' cult of abstinence, and the seductions of language.

The poet and the "subtle" (94) nun are both vulnerable to dismissal as sterile makers of images. They are linked by their ambiguous relations to language and theft, children and money, and by their distance from the patriarchal, heterosexual family and its demands for blood and pedigree. Once we join the narrator on his extended detour into the nunnery, we enter a key to the poem's seductive design of self-scrutiny and self-exposure. Like a persuasive poet, the nun weaves a spell of rich plenty but only to disguise poverty and sterility, enchantment and theft. When her rhetorical fabrication is exposed and destroyed by the literal-minded William Fairfax, she and the nuns shrink from supernatural witches to outcast "gypsies" who have lost a stolen child (268). The nuns have lost both a source of wealth and their reproductive line, for those phallic needles and thread were ready to multiply Isabel's image "through every shrine" (134).¹⁷

From the Gunpowder through the Popish Plots, anti-Catholic polemic invoked Egypt and the East, along with Rome, as the home of dark papist devils and their rhetorical wiles. Sixteenth-century documents also link Egypt with gypsies (reflecting the etymology of "gypsy"), who were believed to steal children and sell them for labor abroad.¹⁸ Roman Catholics, especially Jesuits, and gypsies were alike characterized as aliens skilled in wheedling talk and disguise.¹⁹

Indeed, what society could be farther from the sober establishment of Lord and Lady Fairfax? Yet these “glad parents” will sell, or allow “fate” to “translate” (747) their child who must supply “the line” (738). The early modern usage of “translation”—a word that literally means to convey, transfer, or transport property and language from place to place—carries associations with theft and counterfeit.²⁰ Patron and poet seem to be obscurely implicated as they shuffle counters of children and words for purposes of gain. Meanwhile, orphaned at nineteen and magician of tongues, the childless poet reads family futures in the lines of a landscape instead of a palm.

To William Fairfax the nuns are a den of thieves. But when he steals Isabel back the poem allows the reader to wonder whether he simply continues the theft begun by the lesbian sisters, since Isabel remains silent as to whom she belongs.²¹ The poet, too, is said to have been stolen once by Jesuits, lured from his Cambridge studies into Roman Catholicism about the time that his mother died and his father, a respected Puritan clergyman of no property, remarried into wealth (1638–1639). According to Thomas Cooke’s eighteenth-century account, Marvell’s “[g]enius beyond his Years,” like Isabel’s beauty and wealth, attracted the order’s interest to gain him as “a great Instrument towards carrying on their Cause. They used all the Arguments they could to seduce him away.”²² Once a prized youthful genius whose abilities in Latin and languages at Cambridge elicited puns on his name, Marvell now tutors youth and speaks most intimately for the young and the mute.

If a stolen child presides over Marvell’s meditation on and for the Fairfaxes, the historical Isabel Thwaites, who was an orphan and a ward of the king, silently presides over this family.²³ Sir Thomas Fairfax (1521–1600), the great-grandfather of Marvell’s patron, was the second son of Sir William who had married Isabel; and valiant Sir William, “whose offspring fierce / Shall fight through all the universe” (241–42), whose eldest had been a lunatic and died without issue, mysteriously revised his will to disinherit this second son “of an estate better than two thousand pounds per annum.” The principal family residence and all of the property over which Sir William had control fell to a younger son, while Sir Thomas inherited Denton, along with Nun Appleton and other properties from his mother, Isabel.²⁴ By the 1640s these Fairfaxes of Denton, Nun Appleton, Bilborough, and Newton Kyme had prospered like Jacob to become the most prominent of three Yorkshire branches and one of the two younger “cadet lines” to shed Roman Catholicism.²⁵

Yet until the late sixteenth century, a Roman Catholic, Sir William Fairfax of Walton and Gilling, still headed the family. Modest additions to his house at Gilling included an heraldic frieze in the Great Chamber and genealogical windows, the forerunners of a whole series of genealogical and archaeological studies fostered by the Fairfaxes “to hymn the nobility, and, equally important, the industrial and commercial vigor of their family and class.”²⁶ The antiquarian Roger Dodsworth was later employed by the first Baron Fairfax of Denton and continued on pension from the Lord General.²⁷ The editor of the Fairfax correspondence has not missed the Fairfaxes’ extraordinary attention to family record and their hunger for pedigree, perhaps not unlike the nuns’ interest in preservative syrups:

it may be remarked, that the care with which the family records of the Fairfaxes were preserved is almost without a parallel. In no other collection are there to be discovered such a mass of letters and documents, public and private; pedigrees, not only of the different branches of their own family, but of all the families with whom they were connected by intermarriage; seals, mottoes, arms, and the varied paraphernalia of heraldic honours.²⁸

The “glad youth” (265) who captures Isabel for the “great race” (248) reappears as the “glad parents” at the end of the poem as they prepare to send Maria into marriage—as it happened, to acquire what they would have believed was rightfully theirs, the estates of George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. Fairfax and Cromwell had jointly assumed possession of those confiscated estates, Cromwell holding the larger share; and early in the 1650s they simultaneously began to court the exiled Duke as a prospective son-in-law.²⁹

Sir Thomas was related to Buckingham’s Roman Catholic mother, Katherine Manners of Roos, heiress of the sixth Earl of Rutland.³⁰ But Lord Fairfax’s great-grandfather, so oddly omitted from Sir William’s will, had been excluded from acquiring any property of the Lords Roos. In the courtship of George Villiers for their “little Moll,” Lord and Lady Fairfax thus faced the temptingly honorable possibility of renewing and solidifying the ties among Fairfax, Villiers, and Manners and simultaneously securing Buckingham’s estate of Helmesly in Yorkshire and of York House in the Strand. According to Brian Fairfax, Lord Fairfax’s cousin, Sir Thomas

lived [in the 1650s] in York-house, where every chamber was adorned with the arms of Villiers and Manners, lions and peacocks.

He was descended from the same ancestors, earls of Rutland—Sir Guy Fairfax his two sons having married two of the daughters of the earl of Rutland which my lord took frequent occasion to remember.³¹

Sir Thomas had need for “frequent occasion to remember” his noble descent. In the balance of Mary’s marriage, which took place in 1657, lay the chance for Lord Fairfax to continue the pattern established by his own alliance of tightening existing relations between families to a thick wood which locks out embarrassment, such as poverty-stricken recusant relations, and which locks in wealth, not unlike the cloister gate.

Fairfax had not only trained with his wife’s father, Sir Horace, in the Netherlands, but was related to the Veres through his mother, Mary Sheffield, daughter of the first Earl of Mulgrave. Sir Horace Vere had been twice heir presumptive to the earldom of Oxford, the most ancient in England; and Fairfax’s grandfather had settled the entail of his property on a male heir out of fear that his grandson would dissipate the estate in an attempt to satisfy his proud Vere in-laws.³² Marvell’s poem notes the crucial absence of a male heir (727–28), a lack or vacuum which Fairfax must transform into wealth. The marriage of Fairfax’s daughter to Buckingham would extend the estates Lord Fairfax had inherited in trust from the first Baron Fairfax, despite breaking the entail on the male. And by acquiring as a son-in-law the ward of Charles I, Lord Fairfax would assume the place of the guardian whose death weighed so heavily on his conscience. The “sober frame” indeed swells to bursting with great hopes. The Fairfaxes’ dynastic pretensions and the ambitions of “starry Vere” (724) and her more ancient and distinguished family constellation seem to come under carefully obscured satiric fire in this poem, beginning with the portrait of the nuns’ acquisitive desire to preserve and consume. Whether Isabel in the cloister, the chained narrator between the two woods, or Mary Fairfax walking her map of paradise without a mate, a child or a childlike, sacrificial figure hovers in the poem as an enchanted, contested property.

Isabel’s story may recall a more recent piece of unsightly Fairfax history. A stolen heir and an intercepted Roman Catholic past must have had direct personal resonance for this general whose “first operation,” in the words of one historian, was the removal in 1642 of a twelve-year-old relation from the child’s mother, a convicted recusant, and the immediate dispatch of the boy to a Puritan schoolmaster.³³ Equally “small honour” (233) was in that storm as in Sir William’s charge on the cloister walls. While still in school, the

stolen fifteen-year-old married “a Gentleman’s daughter in the towne there,” subsequently left school, produced three children in as many years, and died penniless at age eighteen.³⁴ And it was Thomas Lord Fairfax, Marvell’s patron of scrupulous conscience, who retained under his protection the child’s Roman Catholic relations.³⁵ If we keep in mind this family crisis which was only resolved in 1651, and the ongoing, if discreet, association of Lord Fairfax with popish relatives (necessarily demanded by his genealogical and antiquarian research), the repressive, sentinel function of the militant garden assumes a more complex, ironic weight.

Appleton House aspires to the order of a “bee-like” monastic cell; yet the poet suggests a disorder behind monasticism. The cloister offers Isabel a seductive but corrupted self-image: the girl is a pattern for the sisters, for the saints, and even for the virgin herself. And a flattering voice which offers a sanctified self-image may be tempting Lord Fairfax. We should remember that Anne Vere, Lady Fairfax, became a notorious female voice when she twice interrupted the king’s trial by irreverent calls to the judges from the balcony. Almost fired on, she had to be forcibly removed. Of this “Vere of the fighting Veres,” Clarendon wrote,

She was of a very noble extraction, one of the daughters and heirs of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband’s entering into rebellion; never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody court, though out of the stupidity of his soul he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.³⁶

Clarendon’s Fairfax, who like Isabel was “made a property” of tougher spirits, resembles the eclipsed commander addressed in Marvell’s poem. A staunch, even zealous Presbyterian who detested Cromwell, Lady Fairfax was an acknowledged presence behind her husband’s resignation and exerted influence on his decision not to invade Scotland.³⁷ In Fairfax’s desire to weed ambition and till conscience, Marvell allows the hint of a spiritualized and feminized substitute for the more virile act of taking control of the country.³⁸

Stanza 44, which begins, “And yet there walks one on the sod / Who, had it pleasèd him and God” (345–36), might be read as a

flattering and consoling inner voice for the Lord General as he paces among his floral troops. Yet the poem offers its own dazzling mirror for Fairfax, like the river where “All things gaze themselves, and doubt / If they be in it or without” (637–38). Himself subtle as the nun, Marvell ventriloquizes the voice of a temptation not to literal sainthood but to the belief that an example of conscience “Shall draw heaven nearer, raise us higher” (162). Marvell’s poem may take Lady Fairfax to task among those who try to redirect history’s masculine course. For if there were escape from history in the cloister, the General’s garden guards against masculine assertion; the stiff flowers which stand watch have replaced his raised sword of command. No nesting and hatching young fill this space, as they appear elsewhere on the estate. Only the female sentinel bee buzzes like a version of the inhospitable abbess.

At age thirty-eight Lord Fairfax had no male heir. And from the childless tutor and orphaned son, one may hear a hint of unflattering portraiture in the General’s preference for “five imaginary forts” to real ones or to the five senses, and in the reference to “half-dry trenches” and “spanned power.” The fantasy of retreat requires intense physical restraint. We might expect Marvell of all poets to celebrate the purity and fulfillment of the mind’s microcosm, the advantages of introspection in a green shade, yet the shadow of castration and impotence around Fairfax almost overwhelms the celebration of this lord’s contemplative bent. Marvell makes no direct reference to Lord Fairfax’s considerable literary interests and learning. In John Aubrey’s eyes, for example, the great Lord Fairfax was a “lover of learning” who single-handedly preserved the Bodleian Library from devastation by his troops when Oxford surrendered in 1646.³⁹ Nor does Marvell mention his patron’s relation to the famed translator of Tasso, great-uncle Edward Fairfax, and in a poem about retirement with unmistakable gestures to epic, this omission is puzzling. Yet the “half-dry trenches” and stiff poetic flowers may accommodate Marvell’s need to judge, although over the head of his patron, Fairfax’s penitential versifying as a reflection of the flowers’ stiff military creator.

For he did, with his utmost skill,
Ambition weed, but conscience till —
Conscience, that heaven-nursèd plant
Which most our earthy gardens want.
A prickling leaf it bears, and such
As that which shrinks at every touch;

But flowers eternal, and divine,
 That in the crowns of saints do shine.
 (353–60)

The distance in stanza 45 between “did” in the first line and “weed” and “till” in the second, separated by the slightly condescending “with his utmost skill,” delivers “weed” and “till” finally deflated. And the other weak verbs—“want,” meaning to lack, “bear,” and “shrinks,” combine to give a sense of void, or shrinking from life: at whose threatened “touch” does Lord Fairfax shrink? We are ready for “flowers” to be a verb and to lift the limp passage.⁴⁰ Not only is it not a verb, but the language with which Marvell describes the flowers of this conscience plant, the vocabulary of saints and divinely shining crowns, comes tainted with Roman Catholic associations (as does the fifth stanza’s “Shall hither come in pilgrimage, / These sacred places to adore, / By Vere and Fairfax trod before” [34–36]). Reference to heavenly “crowns of gold” (120) and saints occurs, for example, in stanzas 15–18, which climax in the nun’s vision of Isabel’s sainthood: “I see the angels in a crown / On you the lilies showering down: / And around about you glory breaks, / That something more than human speaks” (141–44). The sisters’ inversion of the value of action with the value of ornament (“But what the linen can’t receive / They in their lives do interweave” [125–26]) is mirrored in Fairfax’s substitution of his garden for the field of action. By smoothly conflating the voice of the nun and that of the narrator, Marvell has managed to cast a shadow of the sterility of the cloister’s feminine world onto his military patron and also onto his speaker—and perhaps a shade of witchery from abbess to “Governess.” He leaves them encamped in the garden and descends to the sadness of meadows.

In Marvell’s Mower poems, meadows are a solitary world of displaced feelings, of withered hopes and grief which cannot be plumbed; the Mower is mown by his own sorrow. Simultaneously sympathetic and clumsy, Damon is also an uncomfortable voice of the poet “hamstringed” like the frogs who “can dance no more” (“Damon the Mower,” 12). The Mower’s world does not extend beyond his meadows: “I am the Mower Damon, known / Through all the meadows I have mown” (41–42). The repetitive sounds of “am,” “Mower,” “Damon,” “known,” and “mown” emphasize how he remains caught as if within the bounds of his name. Michael Long has called the mower for whom there is no ease “the greatest of Marvell’s childlike, displaced people.”⁴¹ Similarly childlike and circumscribed

by her isolation, the speaker of “The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn” is thrown into ever more intense withdrawal by provocation from without the strictly drawn lines of her emotional and imaginary world represented by a garden. Marvell translates feelings of helplessness, displacement, and isolation into uncanny yet childlike sounds of pain and accusation which he speaks through Damon, the outsider of pastoral, whom he can complexly mock, and through a figure as unlike himself as the girl with a pet fawn. These lonely childlike adults, like the “orphan of the hurricane” of “The Unfortunate Lover,” are relations of the wandering narrator of *Upon Appleton House*, an androgynous child at sea.

The meadows onto which are opened dikes and “cataracts” (466) might remind us of “Holland, that scarce deserves the name of land” (“The Character of Holland,” 1)—and not only in seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting. In the Low Countries, meadows which had once been seas easily became seas again. Traditionally, the Netherlands were the first stop in a seventeenth-century Englishman’s continental tour, as they were for Evelyn in 1641 and probably for Marvell in 1642.⁴² As a place of fighting and floodings, where attention is paid to high and low ground, the Netherlands also figured prominently in the military past of the Veres and Fairfaxes.⁴³ Holland, presided over by its natural citizen, Anne Vere, floats into view in *Upon Appleton House* as a fluid landscape of military parents and martial childhoods. For the opening of dikes in the poem appears to open other floodgates as well, related to the “double sluice” (45) in “Eyes and Tears,” where tears “Like watery lines and plummets fall” and “better measure all” than sight (5–8). Sorrows of loss threaten like a nightmare of drowning from which the speaker is driven to save himself.

The obscure voices of Nun Appleton which draw the narrator are those of mourning—of rails, doves, and nightingales. Human tears appear in the cloister but are called floods of pleasure (111–14), while the sisters make balms “for the grieved” (181), and Isabel weeps instead of speaks; nor do we sound the bottom of those tears. Isabel and the birds appear to share the speaker’s ambivalence about where to hide safely in the world and about marriage and fertility.

The twinning of military action and flooded sanctuaries would have begun for the poet not at Nun Appleton but in that other Yorkshire fortification, Marvell’s childhood home, the city of Hull. Three years after his birth in Winestead-in-Holderness, Marvell’s father was appointed Lecturer at Holy Trinity Church in Hull and

Master of God's House, an almshouse commonly called the Hull Charterhouse. Marvell satirizes the Netherlands in "The Character of Holland," yet the city where he spent his fourth to thirteenth year resembled a Dutch military landscape in miniature. A fortification of dikes and floods built at the mouth of the river Hull, the city of Kingston-Upon-Hull was flanked on the east by the Hull and on the south by the great Humber, where the Reverend Andrew Marvell drowned and which opens into the North Sea. A moat ran around the base of the city walls from the Hull to the Humber, and banks had been raised against overflowing rivers at spring tides. A bustling merchant city and port, Hull was also "the strongest fortress in the Kingdom," a military garrison, and "the pivot upon which the defence of the north of England hinged."⁴⁴ For young Marvell, the sight of drilling militia, including children, must have been commonplace.⁴⁵

The Marvells lived in the Master's residence; and what had been a Carthusian priory until its dissolution stood a few yards west and housed the wealthy Alureds or Aldreds, the family of the woman who became Marvell's stepmother in 1638.⁴⁶ Through the Alureds the poet was related distantly by marriage to Lord Fairfax.⁴⁷ When the Earl of Newcastle led Royalist forces in a siege of Hull on 2 September 1643, not quite nine months after the death of the Rev. Marvell, Ferdinando Fairfax, Sir Thomas's father, decided to flood the country beyond the city walls and on 14 September cut the dike which held back the Humber, swamping Newcastle's works. In the process, Fairfax was forced to demolish the buildings of the Charterhouse and former priory in order to construct the "Charter House Fort" on the banks of the Hull. On the site of Marvell's childhood home grew a fort. The leveling of the Dissolution was repeated by the wars' leveling of childhood relics. And in *Upon Appleton House*, the opening of the dikes sends Marvell's childlike tutor to the bottom of the sea in the wood—where he translates pain of abandonment and his longing for saving arms into images of self-exposure and dissolution, a confusion of sensuality, punishment, and self-mockery.

RESURRECTION IN THE WOOD

Upon Appleton House circles about anger and loss in response to the betrayal of childhood, which is gendered feminine, and to the failure of a male guardian. If he is the referent of "one, as long since prophesied, / His horse through conquered Britain ride" (245–46), Lord Fairfax has refused to ride through Scotland, has refused

prophecy. In one historian's judgment, "The suddenness of his eclipse was the most remarkable incident of his life—more remarkable than the piled-up glory of his breathless triumphs."⁴⁸ And to an "orphan of the hurricane," this general's retreat and refusal to fill the vacuum created by the loss of the king is comparable to abdicating control of a ship in a storm and retiring bewitched to prayer.

Rather than present Fairfax as a loving, protective father along the lines of the portrait of Cromwell with his daughter, Eliza, in "A Poem Upon the Death of his Late Highness the Lord Protector" (1658), Marvell shows a figure in his tense garden unable to stop thinking about war. There is no dilation on the affectionate Fairfax, no playing with Maria in his "mighty arms," the muscles carefully slackened—there are no mighty arms ("Upon the Death of his Highness," 32). In their absence, the nun's arm curves in an illicit nightlong embrace of "crystal pure with cotton warm" (192); her imagination vitrifies Isabel as a jewel. The guardian who flexes human and martial arms will be the Lord Protector; the wishes and emotion which arms represent will be aroused by the figure of Cromwell, twenty-two years the poet's senior and the father of seven surviving children and numerous grandchildren. The younger "Black Tom" Fairfax brings out a harder yet more feminized Marvell whose playful military vocabulary suggests the lowered tone of his patron's once brilliant career—for example, the nun's luxurious martial fantasy of Isabel and a fellow nun "as chaste in bed, / As pearls together billeted" (189–90).

This eclipsed general, neither a natural nor an angelic force, cannot hold together the world of the poem or of the poet, as Cromwell will do in 1655. In *Upon Appleton House*, neither Fairfax nor Cromwell but an ambivalent, orphaned child "betwixt" performs that function. Anger haunted by longing lies behind the poet's insinuating himself in such curious self-display in the wood's lane between Fairfax and his wife. As the poem carefully observes from its fifth stanza, Vere and Fairfax, Fairfax and Vere, are named always together, grown to the muffled darkness of wood. The coffin-like fit of Nun Appleton House—the family's unease with empty space and the suggestion of a void that transgressive thoughts might fill—reappears as the wooden fortress of Fairfax and Vere "Linked in so thick" as if locked (490). The narrator's drowning circles of descent close in on him at the bottom of the estate between the two woods that seem as one trunk, two pedigrees, two labyrinths suggesting tortuous complication, hidden entrance and exit, a minotaur which devours youth and Ariadne's thread. And there is a loose thread:

“closely wedged / As if the night within were hedged” (503–4), the woods are separated by “a long and equal thread” (621) of an opening where the narrator places himself like the proffered sacrifice. The two woods guard an opening over whose mysteries of transgression, imprisonment, and sacrifice he is the humiliated lord. Is he a divisive figure or one who needs protection? Is he “their Lord” (620)—an accusation of self-sacrifice as self-abandon? Charles I was the moment’s most omnipresent Christ figure, and Charles’s martyrdom lay close to the heart of this couple’s decision that Fairfax resign his command. Deep in the woods of their landscape and their past, between even such close stocks as Fairfax and Vere, is a hidden opening where they guard a secret figure; and at the bottom of the poet’s dive is his own secret figure fixed at the edge of the water, like a newly emerged amphibian.

The narrator’s propulsion to dive inward to sound memory and feeling is triggered by an impulse at Nun Appleton as strong as a military maneuver to preserve “Nature’s finest parts” (178). The preservative drive is a seductive voice which lurks behind a “black-bag” and a holy mask and whose associations with death are caricatured in the speech of the nun (“that which perished while we pull, / Is thus preservèd clear and full” [175–76]), in the pastes and crystallized fruits and portraits sewn in linen. Marvell’s speaker moves sinuously to avoid becoming a fly in crystal (678); yet in self-irony he finally pins himself down, an unattractive, drowned specimen imprisoned “within” and burlesqued with the help of the nuns. Marvell summons his sturdy opposite, William Fairfax, to expose the nuns who “though in prison yet enchant” (206), but perhaps covertly to expose himself. “An art by which you finelier cheat” (204) might refer as well to Marvell, who allures and enchants and crystallizes a world from within the prison of his unconventional self.

Not only Isabel Thwaites but Mary Fairfax reminds us of what happens on this estate to youthful genius. The poem concludes with this girl who would be thirteen in July 1651. While a tender flower, Mary has been taught to walk a disciplinary inspection tour like her father; of military fiber, she has weathered skirmishes of temptation. Raised around battlefields, Mary Fairfax early followed her father between military camps: her “domestic heaven” (722) required, for example, at age five that she ride in a retreat from Leeds for over twenty hours until, after “frequent swoonings,” she had to be left behind with a nurse in a precarious state.⁴⁹ But the narrator hints that all of her studiousness, her capacity, like his, for languages and

ventriloquy, and her disciplined Fairfax strength will not save her from the priest's sacrificial knife.⁵⁰ Compared with Isabel's summer suns and innocence, Maria of the Civil Wars seems coolly steeled against menace; but she, too, is being sucked towards an ambiguous altar.

To suspend the freedom of her poise, the poem imagines time and nature charmed to stillness by an image of "betwixt" (670). The "modest halcyon" (669) flying between day and night against the last light on the horizon suggests calmed grief and an extended moment of vision before complete darkness descends. In Marvell's stanza the bird's quality is of being extended between charms, but it will be devoured: as the nun wants to eat Isabel, the darkening air follows and sucks the kingfisher's blue color. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Alcyon foresees her husband's shipwreck and drowning before she finds his body washed ashore. While the couple reunite as kingfishers, the halcyon's mythological relation to death at sea and transfiguration, and its desire to nest on peaceful waters, hint that perhaps a drowning and resurrection have happened in this uneasy nest.⁵¹

I began with questions about the poem's narrative coherence. I would like to conclude that, while the narrative seems to follow the contours of the Fairfax estate, the poem's deepest and most coherent landscape seems to extend not in a linear fashion but in a vertical dive whose lifeline is not genealogical but poetic and psychological. Behind the celebration of lineal descent, the poem contains a chaotic plummet, a descent which sounds "within." The Marvellian line plumbs; yet finally the poet can reverse gravity with a mocking twang of an angler's line as if nothing had happened.

In response to the vacuum created when the "Israelites" cut down the Stuart patriarch (389), the Fairfaxes have chosen to cultivate and preserve their own line, and Marvell's poem would appear to celebrate their past and future greatness. Yet the narrator repeatedly draws attention to the ritualistic, primitive way that parents and elders sacrifice youth to promote and immortalize themselves. The poet addresses a distinguished patron, but the absence of protective authority haunts and disturbs the landscapes within and without. While Lord Fairfax appears briefly in the opening stanzas and in the garden scene, he hardly commands our attention. He is dwarfed instead by a host of striking feminine figures who are either predators or prey: Isabel Thwaites and the lesbian nuns; the garden's sentinel bee ("She runs you through, nor asks the word" [320]) and the rail "Whose yet unfeathered quills her fail" (396); sinister "Bloody

Thestylis" (401) and the women who pitch hay, sweat, and dance; in the woods the nightingale who sings "the trials of her voice" (514), and another bird who listens darkly motionless as if "she were with lime-twigs knit" (574); near the river the studious young Maria; and finally the grotesque and vain "fond sex" (729). Curiously, we do not see Lady Fairfax in the poem, but the narrator reminds us of the stern "Governess" (299), and we feel the cool eyes of "starry Vere" high and unapproachable above the tutor's head.

That household creature, the tutor, presents himself as more feminine than the aggressive females he sees, to whom he slyly adds the "Governess." He rhymes the family name of Lady Fairfax with "severe" (723) two stanzas before the priest "shall cut the sacred bud" (742), so that we hear a disquieting association of "severe" with the verb "sever." The fearful female adult finally culminates in the nuns' living counterparts, the grotesque women who wear a "black-bag" (734) or mask and are addressed with Juvenalian fury in stanza 92. Without warning, the narrator attacks the sex most obsessed with preserving the appearance of the youth they have lost, and the smoothest face in the poem, to the point of blank invisibility high among the stars of the Veres' coat of arms, is "Vera the Nymph" ("Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough," 43).

The narrator also suggests something of his own face behind a mask. At Lord Fairfax's feet, Marvell lays a personal labyrinth. The poem is his pedigree, which like the snake of the River Wharfe enfolds reflections of himself and of his patron: glimpses of family heroism and self-deception; of a drowning abyss of grass and a desert of negligence; of the tilling of conscience and the reaping of youth; of gypsies and tawny mowers, Levellers and the militant voice of vanity and zeal. "Yet your own face shall at you grin" (733), he taunts the women, and perhaps his own looks wearily back. As he contemplates with Lord Fairfax difficult and delicate issues of retirement, Marvell may begin to imagine and prepare for the opposite—a forward move out of the shadows cast in "An Horation Ode."

The Reverend Andrew Marvell's body was never recovered, but his son rises from the depths. The wood vanishes as abruptly, as dream-like, as the nunnery. We wonder again what we saw. In a blurred transition of vision dazzled by the sun's reflection in the river, he rises to the surface and lands on the riverbank like a fish transformed into a lazy angler. From there we are asked to move not "within" but more starkly "in" under the tortoise shell frame of the opening stanzas, as the salmon fishers retreat under the shells of their

canoes. The House has become indeed a shell. The “contains” of line 765 (“Your lesser world contains the same”) recalls the meaning of restraint or control of the verb in stanza 6: Nun Appleton House strains to contain not exuberant strength and abundance, not lush beauty or greatness, but its own gulfs and precipices. The snug domesticity of “lap” is challenged by the superior, strategic, perspective of its flat rhyme word, “map” (767, 768). The salmon-fishers, with their appearance of having plumbed the world to the Antipodes, carrying the depths on their heads, bear a reminder of the poem’s other, interior map. Their dark mystery suggests Marvell’s underwater accomplishment and authority.

Rutgers University

NOTES

¹ “Readers of *Upon Appleton House* have found it difficult to discern any unity in the poem” (Lee Erickson, “Marvell’s *Upon Appleton House* and the Fairfax Family,” *English Literary Renaissance* 9 [1979]: 158). A more recent article begins, “Andrew Marvell’s *Upon Appleton House* is a poem difficult to apprehend as a whole, elusive in its parts and particulars” (Derek Hirst and Steven Zwicker, “High Summer at Nun Appleton, 1651: Andrew Marvell and Lord Fairfax’s Occasions,” *The Historical Journal* 36 [1993]: 247). Perceptions of the unifying design of the poem, an hermetic key, have ranged from “a map of the contours of the imagining mind” (Isabel Mac Caffrey, “The Scope of Imagination in *Upon Appleton House*,” in *Tercentary Essays in Honor of Andrew Marvell*, ed. K. Friedenreich [Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977], 232) and “a sequence of dramatic poems, skillfully divided” (D. C. Allen, “*Upon Appleton House*,” in *Image and Meaning, Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1968], 189), to a circular structure built on a pattern of concentric circles (see Maren-Sofie Rostvig, “*In ordine de ruota*: Circular Structure in ‘The Unfortunate Lover’ and *Upon Appleton House*,” in *Tercentary Essays in Honor of Marvell*, 245–67), and a “hexagon” of pastorals, its own “Bee-Like Cell” (T. Katharine Sheldahl Thomason, “Marvell, His Bee-Like Cell: The Pastoral Hexagon of *Upon Appleton House*,” *Genre* 16 [1983]: 41).

² See John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996), chaps. 2–3. Barbara Estrin, *Laura: Uncovering Gender and Genre in Wyatt, Donne, and Marvell* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1994), 278–303, offers a provocative reading of the experimental “formlessness” (278) of Marvell’s narrator, while Lynn Enterline, *The Tears of Narcissus: Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern Writing* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1995), has probed Marvell’s lyric poise as a containment like melancholy’s narcissism of explosive vacillation between psychological and physical pain and psychological and aesthetic pleasure. The poet’s characteristic entanglement of pain and pleasure, and of aggression and sadness, she notes, is “comparable to the alterations that interested Freud in melancholia” (148) and which led him to propose a connection between narcissism’s “wound” (147) in the ego and melancholy’s

pleasurable indulgence in narcissistic pain. On Marvell's work as reflection on the problem of how "things greater are in less contain'd" (*Upon Appleton House*, in *Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985], 44), see Donald M. Friedman, "Rude Heaps and Decent Order," in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (Houndmills, England: Macmillan, 1999), 123–44.

³ Timothy Raylor, "'Paradise's Only Map': A Plan of Nun Appleton," *Notes and Queries* 44 (1997): 186–87.

⁴ *Upon Appleton House*, in *Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems*, 81, 622. All poems by Marvell are from the Penguin edition and are hereafter cited parenthetically by line number. Titles are also cited where necessary.

⁵ The tutor proposes to "survey" (81) the property; and his ambition might suggest the instruments and mathematics of a seventeenth-century survey. See Crystal Bartolovich, "Spatial Stories: The Surveyor and the Politics of Transition, in *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance*, ed. Alvin Vos, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 132 (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), who argues that such a technical survey was designed to "reveal the true order of the landscape" (274) and discern absolute boundaries of "a higher order" (278) than otherwise visible, as distinct from "the lived local experiences of and attachment to the land" (279). But Marvell's tutor wittily praises the "holy mathematics" (47) of the house and envisions the Yorkshire property as "paradise's map" (768), his perspective is hardly disinterested.

⁶ In the river's surface, "the metaphorical turns literal and the literal explodes again into the metaphorical" (Enterline, 181).

⁷ Samuel Parker, *A Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed in A Discourse to its Author* (London, 1673), 227, 481. I am grateful to Derek Hirst for directing me to Parker's *Reproof*. See Hirst, "Samuel Parker, Andrew Marvell, and Political Culture, 1667–1673," in *Writing and Political Engagement in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Hirst and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 145–64.

⁸ Brigadier Peter Young and Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War; A Military History of the Three Civil Wars, 1642–1651* (London: Methuen, 1974), 99.

⁹ It was not a simple fall. Known for his fondness for horses, Cromwell had received a gift of six grey Frieslands from the Count of Oldenburg and wanted to try out the team. He drove the coach into Hyde Park:

First Oliver tumbled down and was then jerked along with his foot caught in the reins for some distance, only saved when the Protectoral shoe fell off and released him. Furthermore the presence of the devoted Thurloe on the expedition nearly proved fatal to his master; he too fell out and the pistol he carried in his pocket went off, narrowly missing Oliver.

See Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, Our Chief of Men* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 512.

¹⁰ On "The Unfortunate Lover," see, for example, Terri Clerico, "The 'Amphibium' Poet: Phallic Identity in Marvell," *Criticism* 34 (1992): 539–61; and Enterline, chap. 3, "The Mirror and the Snake: The Case of Marvell's 'Unfortunate Lover,'" 146–88.

¹¹ See John Kenyon, "Andrew Marvell: Life and Times," in *Andrew Marvell. Essays on the Tercentenary of his Death*, ed. R. L. Brett (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), 1–35, esp. 6–7. See also Pierre Legouis, *Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan, Patriot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 7.

¹² Patricia Parker has written extensively on figures of “dilation” in Shakespeare, their relation to the female anatomy, to the unfolding of secrets, and to the inflation of language. See most recently her *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), chaps. 6 and 7.

¹³ About the Cistercian nuns, Judith Haber observed, “Within the bounds of their enclosure everything that is excluded comes back,” and the same might be said of other bounds in this poem. Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction: Theocritus to Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 129.

¹⁴ Rogers rightly draws attention to the similarity between Charles’s posture and execution in “An Horatian Ode” and the “severed bud” (742) of Mary Fairfax’s virginity (Rogers, 74). Most recently, Victoria Silver, “The Obscure Script of Regicide: Ambivalence and Little Girls in Marvell’s Pastorals,” *ELH* 68 (2001): 29–55, traces a connection between feminization of the martyred Charles and the recurrence in Marvell’s pastoral poetry of young girls who, with their relation to violence and guilt, represent a ruptured green world, including a world of sexual reproduction.

¹⁵ In the 1970s Jim Swan published a number of psychoanalytic essays on Marvell and aggression, including: “‘Caesarian Section’: The Destruction of Enclosing Bodies in Marvell’s ‘Horatian Ode,’” *Psychocultural Review* 9 (1977): 1–8, “‘Betwixt Two Labyrinths’: Andrew Marvell’s Rational Amphibian,” *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 17 (1975): 551–72, and “At Play in the Garden of Ambivalence: Andrew Marvell and the Green World,” *Criticism* 17 (1975): 295–307. More recently, see Clerico; Estrin; Enterline; and Rogers.

¹⁶ Rogers, chap. 3, “Marvell and the Action of Virginity,” 70–102.

¹⁷ See Estrin, 288.

¹⁸ “The Spanish word *gitano*, like the English ‘Gypsy,’ comes from ‘Egyptian,’ the most persistent tag, which first turned up in popular Byzantine poetry. The designation was taken up by Gypsies identifying themselves to local authorities, perhaps in the belief that it was better to come from somewhere than from nowhere, and preferably somewhere incontestably exotic (particularly useful for fortune-tellers).” Isabel Fonseca, *Bury Me Standing, the Gypsies and Their Journey* (New York: Random House, 1996), 237. The *OED* cites Shakespeare’s allusion to the connection between gypsy and Egypt in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 4.12.28. See also Fonseca, 72, 89, 236–37. The verb “kidnap” originally referred to the practice of stealing persons to be shipped to work on colonial estates. See the entry for “kidnap” in the *OED*: “Originally, to steal or carry off (children and others) in order to provide servants or labourers for the American plantations.” Kidnap appears during the Restoration in several publications about English rogues, which include dictionaries of gypsy slang. See, for example, Richard Head’s *The Canting Academy, or, the Devils Cabinet Opened: Wherein is shewn the Mysterious and Villanous Practices of that wicked Crew, commonly known by the Names of Hectors, Trapanners, Giltis, &c, to Which is Added a Compleat Canting-Dictionary, both of old Words, and Such as are now most in use . . .* (London, 1673), 40–41; and the references to kidnap in Head’s *The Life and Death of the English Rogue, or, his Last Legacy to the World . . . : to Which is Added an Alphabetical Canting Dictionary, English Before the Canting* (London, 1679). See also Thomas Dekker, “English Villanies, Eight Several Times Prest to Death by the Printers . . . And Because a Companie of Rogues, Cunning Canting Gypsies, and All the Scumme of our Nation Fight Here under their Owne Tottered Colours: at the end is a Canting Dictionarie, to Teach their Language; with Canting Songs” (London, 1648).

¹⁹ See, for example, British Museum, Division 1, Political and Personal Satires, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Political and Personal Satires*, vol. 1 (1320–11 April 1689) (London: Chiswick Press, 1870). In 1686 at the conclusion of his “Defence” of the Duchess of York’s conversion “Paper,” John Dryden taunts his adversary, Edward Stillingfleet, by scoffing at the time-honored marriage of Rome and the East as a fantasy of “the common people,” playfully tracing the association to an early hymn by zealot Robin Wisdom, which begins, “Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word; / From Turk and Pope defend us, Lord.” Sir Walter Scott, *The Works of John Dryden*, 18 vols. (London: W. Miller, 1808), 17:250–51. Alison Shell, *Catholicism and English Literary Culture, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), notes that anti-Catholic propaganda drew on the Book of Revelation for apocalyptic images (25). The Pope was identified with the Antichrist and with the scarlet Whore of Babylon, another eastern image.

²⁰ Coincidentally, Lord Fairfax was nicknamed “Black Tom” Fairfax for his dark hair and eyes and swarthy complexion, although he was certainly no gypsy. See, for example, M. A. Gibb, *The Lord General, a Life of Thomas Fairfax* (London: L. Drummond, 1938), 4. On the early modern associations of “translate” with the conveyance and transfer of material property, see Patricia Parker, 137–43, 149–84.

²¹ James Holstun makes a similar point in “‘Will you Rent our Ancient Love Asunder?’: Lesbian Elegy in Donne, Marvell, and Milton,” *ELH* 54 (1987): 835–67. He notes that William Fairfax “competes with the nuns on their own economic level” (849–50).

²² *Andrew Marvell, Poet and Politician 1621–1678; an Exhibition to Commemorate the Tercentenary of his Death*, ed. Hilton Kelliher (London: British Museum Publications for the British Library, 1978), 25.

²³ See also Brian Patton, “Preserving Property: History, Genealogy, and Inheritance in ‘Upon Appleton House,’” *Renaissance Quarterly* (1996): 824–39, for another discussion of the Fairfax family’s concerns with genealogy and property.

²⁴ Isabel had inherited them from her brother, John. And Isabel and John’s grandfather, John Thwaites, who had married “a great heiress,” was the heir of his mother, Alice Thwaites. See *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 2nd. ed. (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1862–1920), 968; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, in vol. 2 of *A History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, ed. William Page (London: St. Catherine’s Press, 1923, 1925), 400–1; and *Testamenta Eboracensia; a Selection of Wills from the Registry of York*, vol. 4 of Publications of the Surtees Society (Newcastle: J. Blackwell, 1869), 10n. See also the entry for 20 January 1562 in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–1580*, ed. Robert Lemon, 12 vols. (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1856), which states, “Geo., Earl of Shrewsbury, to same [Sir William Cecill]. Shews that the application of Thos. Fairfax to be put into full possession of the manor of Nun-Apleton is not founded on facts” (1:193). The transaction between Sir William and his younger son is reported in *The Fairfax Correspondence, Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the First*, ed. George W. Johnson, 2 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1848), 1:xvi–xix.

²⁵ My information about Roman Catholicism in the Fairfax families of Yorkshire is drawn from Hugh Aveling’s article in two parts, “The Catholic Recusancy of the Yorkshire Fairfaxes. Part 1,” in *Recusant History* 3.2 (1955): 69–114 (then entitled *Biographical Studies 1534–1829*), and “The Catholic Recusancy of the Yorkshire Fairfaxes. Part 2,” in *Recusant History* 4.2 (1957): 61–101. See also Aveling,

Northern Catholics, the Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), and *The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790*, Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section, vol. 10, part 6 (Leeds, September 1963).

²⁶ Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy. Part 1," 85.

²⁷ Together they produced 160 volumes of transcription of various Yorkshire and family records later given to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Charles Fairfax compiled his own "Analecta Fairfaxiana" (manuscript), featuring pedigrees of all the different branches of the Fairfax family. In seventeenth-century England, antiquarianism often encouraged or cohabited with a deep suspicion of iconoclastic enthusiasm. See Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 236. Antiquarianism cultivated regret over the Dissolution's wholesale sacking of historical monuments and documents, shock at the ruthlessness of the idea of such total erasure and its vigorous enactment, and nostalgia for England's monastic culture of contemplation. The Dissolution, according to Aston, "was the first time that it had seemed possible to wipe out for ever a whole department of religious life. . . . And the architectural fossils which remained as testimonies to the royal guillotining of the monastic past fostered a growing nostalgia for what had been swept off in this break" (231–32).

²⁸ *Fairfax Correspondence*, 1:lvi.

²⁹ The day after Fairfax resigned his commission, Cromwell assumed the post. And these former comrades of the saddle continued to compete off the field. Fairfax had only one daughter, Mary; Cromwell had two married and two still marriageable daughters. On 23 June 1653, Theodorus writes from London to Lord Conway that, "I hear the Duke of Buckingham is now at Calais, ready to come over, Lord Fairfax, whose sole daughter and heir he is to marry, having made his peace, and way for his safe return." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1652–1653*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1878), 436. Only a few weeks later, on 4 July, the Venetian Secretary in England, Lorenzo Paulucci, writes in his report of Cromwell, "He becomes increasingly presumptuous and authoritative though it is possible that the policy attributed to him may be only a device of his enemies to render him universally unpopular. On the other hand he seeks all possible means to captivate the goodwill of both great and small. Possibly with a view to the better establishment of his supremacy, it is understood that he has recalled the Duke of Buckingham, the eldest son of the late prime favourite. Report says that he wants to arrange a match between the duke and one of his two marriageable daughters, so as to gain the good will of the aristocracy, though between him and them mutual distrust will be eternal, their affections being all centered in the late monarchy." *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy* (1653–1654), vol. 29, ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1929), 94. See also the letter from Col. Herbert Price to Sir Edward Nicholas, *Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas*, n.s., vol. 50 (London: The Camden Society), 261–62.

³⁰ The mother and aunt of Sir William, who had married Isabel Thwaites, were sisters of Lord Manners of Roos. See Clements R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (London: Macmillan, 1870), 39.

³¹ Brian Fairfax, *Memoirs of the Life of George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, cited in the introduction to George Villiers's *The Rehearsal*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1902), 6.

³² In a postscript to the "Analecta Fairfaxana," Charles Fairfax, uncle of Marvell's patron, records the interview with his father, the first Baron, shortly before his death, in which the first Baron Fairfax prophesies that his grandson, soon to be the great Parliamentary General, will bring disaster on the house. The postscript is reproduced in *Fairfax Correspondence*, 1:cvii–cix. The first Baron of Denton despaired of his grandson's ability to protect and enlarge his inheritance: "Such is Tom's pride," he is reported to have said, "led much by his wife, that he, not contented to live in our rank, will destroy his house" (*Fairfax Correspondence*, 1:cviii). Charles was commanded to relay this prophetic warning, if he saw the danger of its coming true, to his nephew, Sir Thomas, and he duly records that he carried out this unpleasant duty when Lord Fairfax cut off the entail for the settlement of the estate on the male heir.

³³ The reference to Fairfax's "first operation" appears in Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy. Part 2," 77. A family race for baronetcies and peerages was launched in the 1620s between Lord Fairfax's grandfather, the Protestant Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, and Sir Thomas Fairfax of Gilling, heir of the Catholic branch, who was a Protestant but whose wife was a convicted recusant. Denton managed to storm the Privy Council and bought a Scots peerage by 1627 for £1500 to become the first Baron of Cameron. The patent for peerage of Sir Thomas of Gilling, much to his frustration, was not issued until 1629 when he was granted the Irish Viscountcy of Emley. Amidst this competition the heir of Sir Thomas of Gilling returned from studies abroad a Roman Catholic liable to conviction. "The future of the estate and so much accumulated by the patient labour and ambition of generations seemed to be at stake" (Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy Part 1," 93), and Sir Thomas of Gilling ordered his son out of Yorkshire. This future second Viscount of Emley married a Catholic, and when their first child, William, was born (1630) the child's grandfather created a trust to hold the Fairfax estates between his own death and the coming-of-age of his grandson; and he stipulated that the future third Viscount be raised a Protestant. But the father, though "the most heavily fined recusant in the county" (Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy. Part 2," 63), refused to release his son, and not until after the father's death in 1641 was the young third Viscount removed. By then the Long Parliament was in session, strong anti-Catholic sentiment ruled, and the king had left London and arrived in York on 19 March 1642. The Puritan Master of the London Court of Wards hastened to nominate four Protestant guardians headed by Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax of Denton; but it was Ferdinando's son, Thomas, who negotiated with the mother and arranged for the young third Viscount's swift deportation. Two letters from Thomas Fairfax written from York in March 1642 to his father, Ferdinando, describe his negotiations with Lady Alethea Fairfax "to demand her son forward" and preparations for his abduction. See Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy. Part 2," 77.

³⁴ "Isaac Barrow," in John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950), 18. In his life of Barrow (who, yet a schoolboy himself, had been appointed tutor to Viscount Fairfax), Aubrey writes: "my Lord Say [Lord Saye and Seale, Master of the Court of Wards] was so cruel to him that he would not allow anything; 'tis thought he dyed for want" (18).

³⁵ Aveling, "Catholic Recusancy. Part 2," 81–84.

³⁶ Edward Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1827), 2399–2400.

³⁷ See Hirst and Zwicker, especially 255, 260–62, who hear in the “cannon lungs” of the cloister a hint of Lady Fairfax’s famous outburst at the trial of Charles I. See also *Fairfax Correspondence*, 1:311.

³⁸ For a discussion of Marvell’s feminization of Lord Fairfax, see, for example, Rogers, 91–95.

³⁹ Aubrey, 104.

⁴⁰ Rogers understands the effeminizing quality of Marvell’s conscience plant as a “revision of Milton’s haemony” (94).

⁴¹ Michael Long, *Marvell, Nabokov; Childhood and Arcadia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 62.

⁴² John Evelyn, only five months the poet’s elder, lost his father in December 1640, just weeks before Marvell lost his, and by July 1641 had sailed for the continent where he first landed in Flanders (he returned to England, however, before continuing on to France and Italy). See *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), beginning with the entry for 15 October 1640.

⁴³ From the Netherlands, the brothers Horace and Francis Vere had invented modern British military science and produced several generations of their country’s finest soldiers. Not only had Thomas Lord Fairfax trained with Sir Horace Vere, General of the English Forces in the Low Countries; his father and particularly grandfather Fairfax had made their careers under Sir Horace’s older and more famous brother, Francis. Lord Fairfax’s wife was born and raised there. Her father’s heroic but unsuccessful defense of Breda (1624–1625) for the Dutch Stadholder against the siege of the great Spanish general, Ambrosio Spinola, later won him the peerage of Tilbury; and the turning event in that struggle which lasted almost a year was Spinola’s opening the dikes to cause impassable floods. He had drowned the meadows. Markham, *“The Fighting Veres”* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888), 427.

⁴⁴ Kenyon, 2.

⁴⁵ In a letter of 1660 to the Mayor of Hull, the poet recalls not only military exercises but “those blessed days when the youth of your own town were trained for your militia, and did methought become their arms much better than any soldiers that I have seen there since.” H. M. Margoliouth, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), 2. Interestingly, the vision of besieged childhood in *Upon Appleton House* whereby, “We ordnance plant and powder sow” (344) by 1660 becomes “those blessed days.”

⁴⁶ According to Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, 101, the Alureds, originally of Suffolk, bought the Charterhouse at Hull in the time of Henry VIII.

⁴⁷ Henry Alured, Lucy’s father, was the grandson of Thomas Alured and Eleanor Constable, of the same family as Sir William Constable of Flamborough who had married Sir Thomas Fairfax’s aunt, Dorothy Fairfax, and who had negotiated the marriage of his nephew to Anne Vere. In addition, Colonel John Alured, a nephew of Marvell’s stepmother, served under Sir Thomas Fairfax in the civil wars, while John’s brother, Matthew, also fought on the side of the Parliament. John Alured, Fairfax’s fellow Yorkshireman in arms and public affairs, was thus in the perfect position to introduce and support his cousin Marvell’s candidacy for employment with the distinguished general. John Alured, Lord Fairfax, and Sir William Constable, who

was Fairfax's uncle and related as well to the Alureds, fought as soldiers together; and when Sir Thomas rode into London in February 1645 to receive from Parliament their newly voted appointment of him as Commander-in-Chief of the army, he entered accompanied by these two relations. Both Constable and Colonel Alured were among the commissioners of the High Court which judged the king, and both signed the king's death warrant. See Pauline Burdon, "Marvell and his Kindred: The Family Network in the Later Years; The Alureds," *Notes and Queries* 229 (1984): 379–85. See also Young and Holmes, 99.

⁴⁸ *Memorials of the Civil War, Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family with the Most Distinguished Personages Engaged in That Memorable Contest*, vol. 2, ed. Robert Bell (London: R. Bentley, 1849), 87.

⁴⁹ Sir Thomas Fairfax, *Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax* (London: Ri. Chiswell, 1699), 56, reprinted in *Select Tracts Relating to the Civil Wars in England in the Reign of Charles the First*, ed. Frances Baron Maseres, 2 vols. (London: Edward Jeffrey and Son, 1826), 1:409–53, 430.

⁵⁰ Robert Cummings, "The Forest Sequence in Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*: The Imaginative Contexts of a Poetic Episode," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 47 (1984): 179–210, describes the violence of the primitive Druidic rites which Marvell recalls in stanza 93. Cummings reprints the frontispiece to "the most considerable work on Celtic religion before modern times, Schedius' *De Diis Germanis* (Amsterdam 1648)," which "shows a Druid standing in a grove of mutilated bodies." See 296–97.

⁵¹ In Book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells how Alcyon first dreamed of her husband's shipwreck, then found the drowned Ceyx washed up on shore; afterwards the tragic pair were reunited, transformed into kingfishers which nest on a peaceful sea.